

A LETTER TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

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"The Voice of The Disinherited"

SHARECROPPERS' VOICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS' UNION

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JURY FINDS PEACHER GUILTY

TENANCY REPORT HITS ARKANSAS LAWLESSNESS

"A serious menace to American institutions."

Those are the words of the Arkansas Farm Tenancy Commission, describing conditions among sharecroppers and tenant farmers in that state. After a long investigation, the Commission made public its report, prepared by C. T. Carpenter, attorney of Marked Tree, former lawyer for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

Among other things, the Commission condemned attacks on the right of sharecroppers to organize. Speaking of the denial of the "right peaceably to assemble, organize and discuss their grievances," the Commission condemned "all acts on the part of anyone to interfere with these fundamental rights of American citizens."

Ends Silence

The appointment of the Commission by Governor J. Marion Futrell was the result of the activities of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union which broke through the wall of silence that hid the real conditions in Arkansas.

In the report, the Commission says "that in 1930, 68 per cent. of all the farms of the state were operated by tenants and that tenancy increased 12 per cent between 1920 and 1930."

The Commission placed the burden for relieving these conditions on the shoulders of the federal government, urging that "the United States, in cooperation with the state, secure suitable farm lands for sale to tenant farmers upon terms which can be met by any reasonably good farmer."

Small Farms

In a document presented to the Commission, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union had pointed out the impossibility of going back to the small, individual farms. "The concentration of land ownership into fewer and fewer hands," it said, "despite its grievous human consequences finds an economic justification in increased efficiency of operation and greater productivity."

Instead of a return to small farm ownership—an impossible turning back of the clock—the Union proposed the setting up of cooperative farms and pointed out that "through cooperatives we can plant the seeds for a new life."

Though the Commission at first was unwilling to hear from representatives of the Union, the action of union members soon compelled attention.

GREET THE SHARECROPPERS

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union will hold its Third Annual Convention at Muskogee, Oklahoma, January 14-17. We plan to run a Convention issue of the paper which will be off the press at the time the Convention assembles. WILL YOU BE ONE TO SEND A GREETING TO THE SHARECROPPERS THROUGH THEIR PAPER? One line with your name and address will cost \$1.00, three lines \$2.50, eight lines \$5.00, larger sizes in proportion. All funds above those needed in the preparation of this issue of the paper will be used to pay Convention expenses. Send your greeting or advertisement in early.

CONVICTED



PEACHER

TWO YEARS, \$3500 FINE IS PENALTY

Paul D. Peacher of Earle, Ark., planter and "Law" who has been known to members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union as "Mr. Peaches," was given a sentence of two years in federal prison and a \$3500 fine to pay by a decision of the United States District Court in Jonesboro November 25th. The jury in rendering its verdict recommended that Peacher be probated provided he paid the fine. Judge Martineau presided.

Union Wins Victory

In a statement given to the press at Memphis, H. L. Mitchell, union secretary, hailed the conviction as a victory for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and stated that he believed that conviction in this peonage case marked the end of violence and terrorism against members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Saying that Peacher, more than any other person, symbolized the lawlessness of Eastern Arkansas planters, the union official complimented the United States Attorney General's office in Washington for its vigorous prosecution and expressed the union's appreciation of the work of Gordon Dean, the special prosecutor for the government, who directed the prosecution so ably.

Other Cases

Newell N. Fowler, chief legal counsel for the union, also announced that vigorous prosecution would be made against other Arkansas planters guilty of crimes against members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. It was also revealed that the cases against the Earle floggers, of Willie Sue Bladgen, Jim Reese, Eliza Nolden were continued until next term of Federal Court, in as much as the union did not wish to embarrass the government in its peonage case by having all come up for trial at the same time.

A. F. of L. Convention Endorses Southern Tenant Farmers Union

American Federation of Labor Reendorses Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Resolution No. 234—By Delegates Vic Wood, Arkansas State Federation of Labor; B. M. Egan, Texas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Courageous strike of agricultural workers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers conducted by the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in eastern Arkansas last spring against working conditions of intolerable serfdom has aroused public opinion in this country to demand and expect an early program of drastic improvement in those conditions, and,

WHEREAS, The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, representing 25,000 field workers in Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma and other cotton states, despite a constant reign of terror involving floggings, shootings, evictions, clubbings and other violent acts of property owners determined to prevent unionization of the field workers, has succeeded in spreading the gospel of unionization as the sole method through which improvement of the conditions of workers under a dying plantation system can be brought about, and,

WHEREAS, The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, as a result of its heroic struggle for a membership much of which because of the depth of its poverty and dependence upon the feudalistic plantation system is unable in its present status to pay regular dues, has materially increased its membership during the past year, and,

WHEREAS, The two million agricultural workers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the cotton fields of this country, all inevitably tending to merge in the agricultural worker class as a result of increasing farm mechanization and enlarging corporate farming operations, stand as a constant threat to the standards of their fellow workers in urban industrial areas as long as they remain unorganized at their present incredibly debased level of existence, and,

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt and officials of his administration have taken cognizance of the deplorable conditions of cotton field workers and are considering measures of improvement, as are various officials of cotton-producing states, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor unanimously endorsed the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union at its fifty-fifth annual convention and the Arkansas State Federation of Labor did so at its thirtieth annual convention, on October 28th, 1936, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this fifty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor again commend and endorse the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union for its valiant efforts on behalf of the cotton field workers in the face of great obstacles; that the Federation approves the principle that unionization of these workers affords the only instrumentality through which a solution of their problems can be worked out; that the Federation insist upon the preservation of constitutional civil liberties in the cotton areas so that organization of the field workers towards effective collective bargaining can continue in accordance with the true American tradition; that the Federation will recommend and support only those programs, legislative or otherwise, which give reasonable promise of securing for the cotton field workers a standard of living in keeping with that sought generally by the Federation for its membership; that the Federation urge its Executive Council to give serious consideration to all requests of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union for aid and advice; that it request all affiliated bodies to do likewise whenever possible, and that it repeat its recommendation that its Executive Council take steps to bring about a thorough Federal investigation of the conditions of workers in these cotton areas with full publication of findings.

CROPPERS TO HOLD THIRD CONVENTION

The Third Annual Convention of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union will be held at Muskogee, Oklahoma, January 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th, Convention Hall, Main Street, Muskogee, Okla.

NATIONAL OFFICE NOTES

By H. L. MITCHELL

The Arrangements Committee, chosen by the union Executive Council, has just announced that the third annual convention of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union will be held in Muskogee, Oklahoma, during the second week in January. Complete details will be sent to every local, and at least one delegate from each local is expected.

Since Washington was so far away, it was decided to hold the convention at some nearby place and elect a delegation to go to Washington. How much money can be raised will decide how big the delegation will be.

Convention Issues

The main job of the third annual national convention is to make the union more solid. We have got to be strong and well organized, so that when we have to act we can act quickly. I do not think that we need state and county independent unions affiliated to the national organization. What we need is a union that can act together in Arkansas, Missouri, Texas, Oklahoma, Mississippi and Tennessee. We need every union member to know his duties in the union, and every local ought to take a bigger part in the national policies of the union. We do not need positions with grand titles in the union, as some of our people seem to think. We need to think of him as an equal in the union, where everyone has the same purpose.

As issue number one I would place the revision of the union constitution and by-laws, so every union member could know exactly how his union works.

All of this and more should be discussed in the locals before the convention. Resolutions on things that you want the union to do should be talked over in the locals first. If the local approves, send a report on it to headquarters, and be sure to get your delegate to work for anything you want on the convention floor. Don't depend on this office to see that things get passed. The locals know their needs better than I do.

Union Growing

As a result of the militant strike activity of last summer, the union is growing very rapidly. Picking prices were much higher in union territory than elsewhere, for planters feared a strike in the union counties and began to raise wages early. Sixty-five new locals have been chartered since the beginning of the cotton choppers' strike, and eight hundred new membership cards have gone out since Oct. 1.

All locals are again asked to send in complete rolls of their members. So far we have gotten about forty locals to do this, with about 6,000 members. Every local should do this as soon as possible, and every member should see that his name is put down and his card numbered.

Defense Fund

Many locals and individuals have made contributions to our Central Defense Fund, but most of the union members have paid nothing so far. Every member should send this money in if he expects to receive legal aid from the union. There will be no at-

A New Way of Life: The Delta Farm

By SAM H. FRANKLIN, JR.

Director, The Delta Cooperative Farm
Hillhouse, Miss.

Last winter when a large number of union members who had been evicted from their homes were shivering by the roadside or tending sick children in ragged tents, it was proposed that some of these victims of the landlord's tyranny should be brought together on a farm where they could work for themselves and not for another. Accordingly, in March, the Delta Cooperative Farm was established by the help of Dr. Sherwood Eddy and many others, and about thirty families of both races were located upon it. They set to work with a will and during the four short months of our life here they have re-cleared some 135 acres of land, put in a cotton crop of about 275 acres, cut and baled a large crop of alfalfa, erected more than a score of buildings, set up and operated a sawmill, and put in several acres of garden stuff. A school for children has been established, church services and a Sunday School are regularly held, a clinic has been started with the full time services of a young Memphis physician for the summer, and a regular program of recreation, dances and games, has been carried out.

Better Conditions

What is the significance of all this for the Union? First let it be clear that no one is idealizing the farm, or regarding it as an Utopia. Cooperatives alone cannot emancipate the slaves of the present economic system. Great Britain is a land where consumers' cooperatives have attained phenomenal success over the last 100 years, yet I have seen some of the most distressing poverty I ever witnessed in the slums of her cities, and her unemployed for long have totalled two millions. At best the cooperatives can soften the cruelties of capitalism—they

cannot eliminate them, unaided. Socially minded cooperatives however can give a powerful reinforcement to other activities which look toward a just social order. There are at least three functions they can fulfill. First, they can demonstrate, even under capitalism, certain important facts. They can demonstrate that men who have been exploited and oppressed, who have lived at the bottom of the economic scale, can "make good" when given a chance. They can prove that so long as the cooperative is allowed to go its way without interference from outside it will provide shorter working hours, greater incomes, and a higher standard of life, than the plantation system. They can reveal how when men are organized cooperatively they have more regard for the conservation of soil, the rotation of crops, and the avoidance of waste of natural resources than the capitalistic plantation, which is out to wring everything possible from the land by means of a "cash crop." Thus some thoughtful people may be led to see that the socialists' claims are true, and that there is a way of life whose principles are illustrated by the cooperative which is better for the great majority than the present economic system.

The demonstration which the cooperative makes, however, is the least important of the things it can do for the Union. It may also serve as a rallying point and a natural center for the movements which have as their aim the establishment of a socialized, and therefore a cooperative economy. Unlike bourgeois cooperatives, our farm is of, for, and by the disinherited class, and is designed to round out and complete the efforts they are now making to achieve a society in which they

END PEONAGE



IN THE SOUTH

A sharecroppers' defense fund stamp, drawn by the famous artist, Rockwell Kent, and distributed by the Workers Defense League. Order from the Union.

will be accorded justice.

Finally the farm may fulfill what is perhaps its chief function by serving as an educational center for the Union and all in sympathy with it. We need to train our future leaders in an atmosphere of cooperation and economic experimentation. We need to make them familiar with the ideology of cooperatives. We need a center which will be an intellectual clearing house in the struggle for a new social order. Other sections have their centers for higher education of men engaged in militant union activities, but this is lacking as yet in the Southeast. The cooperative farm hopes to prove itself worthy of being considered a place where men who are to play a leading part in Union activities in the South may come for training and for stimulating contacts. In a very small way this has been begun already with the opening of our Institute for Leadership Training, which we are holding this year.

We hope, therefore, that the farm and the Union will never be set over against each other, as if they were in any way opposed, but that both will be recognized as enterprises that reinforce each other, while both look forward to something greater and more important than either, namely a society with justice and equal opportunity for all.

UNION RAISED PAY IN COTTON PICKING

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics (part of the Department of Agriculture) has just released final figures on the price of picking cotton for this year. The average price was 69c per hundred pounds, the highest since 1929. The average last year was 58c per hundred. The average price in Missouri was 95c per hundred, while in Arkansas and Oklahoma it was 75c per hundred. (In union territory, the price was as high as \$1.25, due chiefly to the S. T. F. U. Prices were much lower in non-union territory, about 55c to 65c.)

NOTE TO READERS

This issue of the Sharecroppers Voice combines the October and November numbers. All subscriptions will be extended to cover 12 numbers. The next issue will be the Convention number and will appear just before the Convention assemblies.

tempt to collect this, but we ask all members to pay their dollar now.

CROPPERS ARE BACKED BY ARKANSAS LABOR

THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION was unanimously adopted by the Arkansas Federation of Labor in its 30th Annual Convention at Little Rock, Arkansas, October 28th, 1936.

WHEREAS, Recent disclosures of conditions prevailing on the cotton plantations of Arkansas and other southern states have brought to light the terrible and shocking working and living conditions to which the workers employed on them have been reduced, and

WHEREAS, the Chief Executive of the nation and the executives of Arkansas and other southern states have recognized these conditions and are taking steps to alleviate them, and

WHEREAS, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, an organization of farm day laborers, tenants and share-croppers, all of whom in Arkansas have the legal status of hired laborers, has been largely instrumental in arousing the nation to an understanding of the appalling conditions of these farm workers in the South and Southwest, and especially in Arkansas, and

WHEREAS, The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union has conducted itself in a legal and peaceable manner in attempting, with some degree of success, to secure better wages and higher living standards and better working conditions for these laborers, and in organizing them into a union-conscious group, has protected them from unscrupulous employers and landowners, and

WHEREAS, The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union is endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Arkansas State Federation of Labor go on record as unreservedly endorsing the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and pledging its moral support to this timely movement, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all members (or affiliates) of the Arkansas State Federation of Labor be urged to assist the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in every way possible.

OKLAHOMA NOTES

By John M. Denney, Organizer,
Creek County, Oklahoma

A county meeting of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union was held at Tabor, Creek County, on Monday night, November 9. In spite of the cold weather a good crowd was present, indicating an increasing interest in the work of the Union within the county. At this meeting John W. Williams of Bristow made the principal address which was received with interest and enthusiasm. Extracts from the "Supplement to Southern Tenant Farmers' Union statement on Farm Tenancy" were read and approved, and arrangements were made to continue the study of this paper in future meetings.

New Council

Another new Community Council in Creek County was organized Monday night, November 16, at Watt Amos Schoolhouse, southwest of Bristow. Participating in the organization work were C. Hall, local worker; John W. Williams, speaker, and John M. Denney, organizer. Columbus Sumpter of Bristow was elected President of the local and Horace James was elected Secretary. We predict success for this council.

We have established the procedure of holding a county meeting within the county each month. Our next meeting will be at Tabor, on Monday night, December 14. We hope that many members from other counties will be able to meet with us from time to time.

VEGETABLE FARMERS

The organization of 5,000 farm laborers employed on the spinach and vegetable farms of South East Oklahoma is now underway. The Oklahoma members will propose that the Third Annual Convention of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union set up a special department of the Union to handle the organizing of vegetable and fruit workers employed in Oklahoma, Texas and other states.

REVOLT among the SHARE- CROPPERS

By

HOWARD KESTER

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UNION MEN SPEAK AT HEARINGS ON FARM TENANCY

Twenty-seven union sharecroppers and farm laborers gathered around the entrance of the fine Arlington Hotel in Hot Springs on Sept. 23 while the Governor's Commission on Tenancy met inside. Although the union members felt out of place so far removed from the cotton fields, most of the members of the commission were just as much out of place discussing something they didn't know anything about.

Every member of the commission had been sent a letter some days before giving the position of the union. As this was practically the only thing that the commission had to go by, the union letter helped to educate a few of the members of the commission. Some of the progressive members demanded that the union be heard, and W. L. Blackstone spoke for the union. He simply stole the show, and he increased the respect for the union among intelligent people. As a result of the union's work in Hot Springs, a few weeks later Pres. J. R. Butler and W. L. Blackstone were appointed as members of the commission.

Without the activity of the union, no action to help the southern sharecropper would have taken place. Without the union, Gov. Futrell would never have called the commission together. And what the tenancy commission, or the state of Arkansas, or the U. S. government does for the disinherited sharecropper depends purely upon the growth and strength of the union.

OKLAHOMA TENANCY IS INVESTIGATED

Following the appointment of the Oklahoma Farm Tenancy Commission and its meetings, the State Legislature was called into special session to act upon plans for the relief of farm labor throughout the State.

Odis L. Sweden, Oklahoma State Secretary of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, was appointed to the Commission and made chairman of the Committee on Farm Contracts. The proposals advanced by the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in Oklahoma were recommended and supported by Governor Marland who also stated that no farmers or farm laborers would be forced to sign a pauper's oath to obtain benefits.

According to a survey made by the Oklahoma Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and presented to the legislature some 35,000 children are being denied educational opportunities due to lack of school books. The Union recommended that the sum of \$150,000 be appropriated by the Legislature to secure free textbooks for school children of the rural population.

The Oklahoma Southern Tenant Farmers' Union is sending a delegation to appear before Legislative Committees on behalf of these bills and is sponsoring the establishment of a separate division in the State Labor Department for the enforcement of the rights of sharecroppers, tenants and farm laborers. It is also asking that the State laws be amended to require written contracts between landlords, tenants and farm laborers.

JOIN THE SOUTHERN
TENANT FARMERS' UNION



TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

An Open Letter

November 20, 1936.

The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
The White House, Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

In this hour of your triumph as the leader of the American people you have power such as no other president has ever had to alter and improve the system of farm tenancy which dooms millions of your fellow citizens to poverty and a life of insecurity. We learn with quickening hope of your interest in this problem, and of your appointment of a national committee to examine it. Your administration will be notable in many ways but in none shall you be more remembered than for your search for a solution to this problem of the landless farmers and farm workers of America. We look to you for that courage and vision without which we and our children shall perish.

For several years members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union have struggled against the evils of the present sharecropping system. After facing two years of terror and violence unprecedented in this region, we have won through to a measure of peace which should have been our right from the very first, as free citizens of America. In our locals in six states of the South and Southwest we have had many discussions as to how we may gain a greater security in the tenure of our land. We have circulated questionnaires among our people, have discussed many suggestions and plans. Out of this discussion certain ideas have become fairly clear, which now we wish to lay before you for your consideration.

We appreciate the desire of your administration to meet the needs of some of the hard-pressed tenants, sharecroppers and other farm laborers through such agencies as Rural Rehabilitation and Resettlement Administration. As a means of immediate relief, these programs are of the utmost importance. But we know that, with the best will in the world, it will be impossible for your administration to extend the benefits of these agencies to any large percentage of our people for several years. We are concerned, therefore, about the ninety per cent who cannot participate in such programs even more than with the ten percent who may hope for such opportunities within the next four years.

IMMEDIATE STEPS

For this great majority of sharecroppers and other farm laborers certain immediate steps may be taken which will go far to ameliorate their lot under the present system. We wish to suggest the following program for the federal government, to be followed, we hope, by similar action by state administrations.

(1) The right of the people peacefully to assemble granted them under the Constitution of the United States has been consistently denied to officers and members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union by a small but powerful minority in certain territories where locals have been organized. Our members have been subjected to physical violence and scores have been forced to flee for their lives. We urge strong Federal support of our constitutional right to organize and to conduct our educational program free from interference or molestation from any group. We are aware that you have endorsed these principles but to no apparent effect on those to whom it applied most forcibly. We urge you again to recommit your principles in such words that they cannot possibly be misunderstood, so that in the future all farm laborers, organized and unorganized, will be protected against a renewal of that violence by which a few of the enemies of Democracy have sought to deny our fundamental rights, as American citizens.

(2) We submit that the present sharecropper system lends itself to dishonesty and inefficiency. Contracts are generally grossly unfair; outrageous rates of interest are charged on credit accounts for goods of inferior quality and final settlements are frequently denied altogether or more often calculated dishonestly. We urge a firm National policy to be embodied in future Federal farm legislation which will outlaw such practices. We further submit:

(a) That interest rates should not exceed those permitted by state law.

(b) That no contract between Federal agencies and land owners be approved whereby a sharecropper, tenant or other farm laborer is required to purchase his supplies from a commissary store. We urge also the assistance of the Federal government in our struggle to abolish commissaries by appropriate state legislation.

(c) That loans be made to sharecroppers and tenants by governmental agencies at low interest rates without waiver of landlord's lien. That loans for the purposes of making crops be advanced directly to the sharecropper and tenant by Federal agencies.

(d) That contracts between landlords and tenants or sharecroppers be in writing so that adequate legal protection may be given all parties concerned.

(e) That disputes over such contracts shall be referred to county and state arbitration boards, made up of representatives of both interested parties.

(f) That the various state Labor Departments or similar state agencies cooperate with Federal agencies in seeing to the proper fulfillment of contracts.

(g) That Federal farm legislation require a new type contract between landlords, tenants and sharecroppers in which the agreement runs for three to five years, thus making for greater security in tenure of land.

(3) Thousands of our members have expressed their wishes with regard to their own future if, and when, the present sharecropping system is liquidated. Relatively few of them are content to continue to live as at present, even if the above modifications of the system are made. The majority of them desire to be secure on their own farms. A substantial minority are anxious to attempt cooperative operation of land on large scale tracts in line with the present trend toward mechanization in the cotton growing section. All of them desire cooperative enterprises, even where land is individually owned. We appreciate that many of your officials interested in this problem, are more and more turning to cooperative programs as a key to its solution. We wish to express our complete devotion to this principle. Our organization will do everything in its power to advance an adequate solution, aiding wherever possible in the initial experimentation which must be made before a thoroughly sound and practical cooperative technique can be developed, valid for the American scene.

LONG TERM LEASES

(4) Since both ownership in fee simple and group ownership encounter many practical difficulties we believe that your administration should carefully consider, as an alternative mode, the possibility of guaranteeing tenure through the medium of long term leases of government lands both to individuals and to cooperative groups. Many of our people would be happy to proceed on this basis, if only they can be sure of their tenure.

(5) We sincerely hope that your administration will broaden its program so as to reach many more of our people. We believe that your officials should experiment with all of the above methods of land tenure. Some of our people will succeed by one method, some by another. We are prepared to carefully select a large number of qualified farm families for experiments in line with any of the above proposals.

(6) In all cases we believe that the education and training of our people in a new way of life will be greatly facilitated if our homes be brought together into small villages near our lands, whether operated individually or cooperatively. We desire the educational and cultural advantages which can be gained for our people if they come together into villages. The present isolation of our homes is one of the chief causes of the backwardness of many of our people.

These, Mr. President, are our considered suggestions to you as you and your administrators turn your attention once more to the problems of the land. We wish you, and them, high courage, steadfast determination, and every success, as you grapple with this most bitter of our social problems. We extend to you and your administrators our offer of sincere and wholehearted cooperation in bringing some measure of justice to the landless and disinherited sharecroppers, tenants and other farm laborers of the southland... and of America.

Sincerely yours,
J. R. BUTLER, President,
H. L. MITCHELL, Secretary,
By order of Executive Council of
Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

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HERMAN GOLDBERGER

On November 8th, 1936, Herman Goldberger, well known Memphis attorney, died of injuries received in an automobile accident near Brownsville, Tennessee.

With the death of Mr. Goldberger, organized labor in general and the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in particular has lost one of its most valiant, able and devoted friends. Few men felt more keenly the cause of the disinherited workers in the cotton fields of the South than Goldberger. His hatred of tyranny and oppression, his devotion to truth and justice and his deep affection for his fellows irrespective of color early caused him to identify himself with their cause. He gave unstintingly of his time, energy and money to the cause of social emancipation. A thorough knowledge of law, and a deep passion for social justice made him one of the most valuable workers in behalf of justice in the Mid-South. His services to the cause of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union were invaluable. His counsel and his inspiring friendship will be greatly missed by all those who had the privilege of knowing him. A great champion of the people has passed on, but the world is richer for the life that Herman Goldberger lived in behalf of Justice, Sanity and Brotherhood.

PEACHER STANDS CONVICTED

Paul D. Peacher, planter and "The Law" of Earle, Arkansas, has been convicted before the bar of public opinion thruout America, as well as by the decision of the U. S. Court at Jonesboro. All America sees in him the vicious symbol of oppression, tyranny and terrorism, the symbolic image of the domineering lawless planters of the South.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, its hundreds of locals and thousands of members, have successfully challenged the authority and dominance of the lawless planter element in the South. Peacher's supporters clearly recognized the importance of the case, as did members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. It is reliably reported that Peacher's planter friends raised a defense fund of \$5,000.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union is deeply grateful to the Attorney General's office in Washington for the vigorous way in which the case was handled, and especially to the special prosecutor, Mr. Gordon Dean.

This trial is a defeat for the lawless planters, never again will they feel so sure of themselves that they openly flout the laws of the land, and attempt to carry on a widespread campaign of violence and terrorism. We may expect sporadic outbursts of mob violence at various intervals in both Eastern Arkansas and elsewhere, but we feel that this trial will help prevent wholesale violence in the future.

IT'S UP TO THE PRESIDENT

President Roosevelt is going to be in the White House for another four years, and it is thanks to the plain people that he was re-elected. All the wealth and property was on the other side. But, with powerful labor support, he swamped his Republican opponent.

But what's more important to us is what the president is going to do for the people who believed in him and trusted him with their votes. Labor, both on the farm and in the factory, has won whatever gains it made during the last four years only by bitter struggle; too often the progressive word has been the clothing for a conservative act. Too often he has talked like a cropper and acted like a planter.

Let's watch the president carefully. We, the plain people, elected him; but if he doesn't act strongly for us then we had better start to build a political party of our own.

JOIN THE UNION!

SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS' UNION.
 Box 5215, Memphis, Tenn.

Please tell me how I can join the Union.

NAME

ADDRESS



GOLDBERGER

● **OUR BROTHERS**
ELSEWHERE ●

SHIPPING STRIKE

Though the newspapers don't seem to want to print any news of it, there is still going on one of the most important strikes in the history of the country. Nearly a hundred thousand workers are on strike, including sailors, captains, officers, firemen, long-shoremen, dock workers, cooks, and others.

SPAIN

In Spain, the Spanish workers are still holding out against all the trained soldiers, airplanes, and tanks that the fascists can muster. The German and Italian governments started the rebellion against the workers' government; and the German and Italian governments have furnished the Spanish fascists with all the guns, planes, and war supplies that they want. If it hadn't been for the spirit of the Spanish workers, all of Spain would be in the hands of the fascists today. This war threatens to bring to a head the conflict that is going on all over the world, the final battle between the oppressed and their oppressors. We extend our greetings to the Spanish workers in their magnificent struggle, along with best wishes for their success in ridding Spain of its parasites.

MEXICO

Our neighbors to the south are really trying things that we have only talked about so far. The Mexican government has just taken a million and a quarter acres from the rich parasite families who have owned it for generations, and given it to the landless class of Mexico. That's about as much land as Mississippi, Cross, and Crittenden Counties put together. Large cooperative farms for the growing of cotton and other crops are being started. And are the big Mexican planters yelling bloody murder! Although they have lived in style for hundreds of years while Mexican farm workers starved, they can't see that the land is the heritage of all the people. This is one of the most important things that is happening today, and the union will certainly be interested to see how it turns out for the Mexican people.

LABOR PROBLEMS NO. 2

The labor movement developed in the United States, as in all countries because the workers needed it. In the colonial period unions were not necessary, because production was simple, the market was small, and there were no big businesses. A regular shop in colonial days was composed of one master craftsman (who knew all about his trade), one or two journeymen (who had worked at the trade for several years), and two or three apprentices who were just learning. It didn't take much money to set up a business, and every journeyman looked forward to the day when he could have his own shop. The master craftsman worked at the same bench with the men that he hired, and treated his men as equals. So long as this situation kept on, the worker had just about as much bargaining power as his employer. Therefore unions were not necessary. The only organization of any kind was the "guild," to which master craftsman, journeyman, and apprentices belonged.

The revolution changed all that. It made one nation out of 13 small quarreling colonies, and prevented each one from putting tariffs on each other's goods. This greatly enlarged the market. At the same time, railroads and steamships were just coming into use, along with new ways of manufacturing. Instead of little shops people began to work in large factories. The money for these factories was put up by some wealthy man whom the workers never saw and who cared very little how they lived so long as he was making money. These new ways of making things wiped out the little shops of the old days, and all the workers had to work in factories if they wanted to live. Since the worker couldn't go into business for himself, he was forced to form a union in order to get a decent wage.

NEWS FROM LOCALS

Antioch local, 110, has built up their treasury through a number of pie suppers held recently. Several ministers, professors, and government people have dropped in lately on 110, and the local was glad to receive them. Several members of the local went to the first meeting of the Governor's Commission and helped to steal the show for the union. Gracie Blackstone led the literature brigade when the delegation went visiting nearby towns. Gracie sold a copy of the Sharecroppers Voice to Mr. Peacher in Earle. Some salesman, ain't she, boys!

Local 180 Making Progress

Led by active members like J. F. Hinds, president, and Ernest Hobbs, secretary, local 180 is growing fast, and its members are helping to build new locals all over St. Francis County. St. Francis has nearly 50 locals, according to the red dots on the map in the union headquarters.

Local 46 Consolidates

Locals 37 and 135 have consolidated with local 46. They have established a buying club, which through their collective buying power can get lower prices for them on winter goods. Other locals should try this, because it is a good plan. There is even talk of a cooperative store over in Cross County. When it gets started, the ol' commissary will be headin' for the last round-up.

Local 101 Stepping Out

Down near the corners of three counties is a large local called 101. It is made up of two or three that were disorganized a year or so ago when the terror started. We have about given up trying to keep up with what county this local belongs in, since they hold meetings first one place and then another. Planters can't keep up with them, either, so we should worry.

October

Fourteen new locals and one county central council were set up in October. Not bad for folks picking cotton. We certainly ought to show them some speed when picking is through.

THE UNION SONG**POEM**

By John Henry, Organizer

Have you ever woke up in the morning,
 And it seem like your day of toil started wrong?
 Nothing in this world would console you
 But to start singing the good old union song?

Some time you go to the window
 or door and begin
 Wondering and looking out across the field
 Thinking of what wealth the farmers have added to the nation
 While they have to live on such scant yield.

Be of good cheer, be patient, be faithful
 And help the Union to grow strong
 And if at any time you are discouraged
 Revive yourself by singing the good old Union song.

When thinking of how horrid the past has been
 Knowing that labor's road has not been smooth,
 Deep down in your heart you keep singing
 "We shall not, we shall not be moved."

DEMAND FURTHER
TENANCY PROBE

By W. L. Blackstone

Hot Springs, Ark.—A resolution calling on the Arkansas legislature to make a thoro investigation of tenancy in the state was one of the most important suggestions made at the final session of the Tenancy Commission meeting here. The resolution was adopted after a spirited debate between friends of the STFU and planters' representatives. The Federal government was called upon to aid in restoring landless farmers and farm workers to the land. A program for state co-operation was also recommended.